

# PEACE NEWS

532  
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## THE TREK TO PALESTINE

### A tragic Exodus from Eastern Europe

**R**ECENT measures to discourage illegal immigration into Palestine have established the fact that the majority of Jews now moving out of Europe are coming from Poland and the Soviet Union.

The Manchester Guardian Warsaw correspondent estimates that 40,000 Jews have left Poland in the past six weeks. Restrictions placed by the Czechs in the way of crossing their frontier have caused a massing of thousands of Jews in the Czech-Polish border territory. A small town like Kłodzko held about 2,000 would-be emigrants at the end of last week.

Other reports indicate that many of the Jews now leaving Poland have themselves crossed out of Soviet territory, which is, normally, not tolerant of emigrants. Mr. Foster Anderson, author of "Borderline Russia" and (now in publication) "What I saw in Poland—1946" has made some disturbing observations on his recent four-month visit to Poland. According to the British League for European Freedom anti-semitic feeling in the country has been greatly heightened by the "ceaseless flow" of Jews from Russia, many of whom are suspected of being Soviet agents.

Mr. Anderson was present in a Government office when two officials of an international Jewish organization appealed to a government official for assistance. It appeared that, owing to an aeroplane accident, the head European representative of the organization had been killed, and nobody else had the power to draw cheques. Money in the meantime was needed because, they said, 156,000 Jews were coming in the next few weeks from Russia to Poland.

Mr. Anderson noticed that though these immigrants into Poland were supposed to be settlers, they were all congregating in the extreme South-West of the country near the Czech-Slovak frontier, the part of the country least secure as territory of the "new Poland."

There is a Jewish Republic in the Soviet Union and this, one would expect to welcome Jewish immigrants; so far, however, there has been no sign of assistance from this source. Some months ago, Sir George Rendel, the British delegate to the UNO Special Committee on Refugees, asked what aid the Jewish community could expect from Russia. The reply was that the Russian Government was not yet in a position to make a statement.

The International Labour Office permanent migration committee meet on Monday next in Montreal, when the prospects of co-operation between the nations in the resumption of immigration will be reviewed.

The committee is also to consider racial discrimination as it affects migration. In addition to the ILO delegates (according to The Times, Aug. 17) advisers from UNO, the inter-governmental committee on refugees, UNRRA and FAO have been invited.

Recommendations will go to the ILO Governing Body, which meets in mid-September.

# RUSSIA ABSORBS THE NAZI UNEMPLOYED

## No competition from the West

**A**CCORDING to a circumstantial report in the Daily Mail (August 17) there is a constant flow of German technicians, military, naval and civil, from the Western zones of Germany in to the Russian.

To check this, British military HQ has ordered regular officers and technicians of the German armed forces to register at police stations. But police measures of this kind, being merely negative, are not likely to be effective.

The news of this movement tends to confirm the prophecy made in this column some three years ago: that in the event of a complete defeat of Germany, its technical cadres would be incorporated into Soviet Russia, whose deficiencies they would fill. Just as under the Tsardom a hundred years ago the German Baltic barons provided an extraordinarily high proportion of the Russian bureaucracy, so in the new Soviet Russia employment would eagerly be given to the displaced technicians of a disintegrating Germany.

The new combination—of the German genius for organization and Russian man-power and material resources would, in a very short time, become formidable indeed. The true alternative, we argued, was to offer, in all our war-time propaganda, a definite and hopeful future to the Germans as equal partners in a society of democratic and socialist nations.

### Insanity preferred

**P**ROBABLY it would not be too late to make such an offer now. But there is nobody to make it. Ten years hence, the politicians of USA, Britain and France will be asking themselves why their predecessors preferred the insanity of "unconditional surrender"

## Observer's Commentary

to the effort to conceive a policy which would give Germany a function in a new order in which some of the values of western civilization would be preserved.

Hitler was carried to power by the dynamic generated by the technical unemployment inside Germany. What would happen when the German state was destroyed, and the German people as a whole became the unemployed nation of the world? If the statesmen had ever asked themselves the question, the answer was pretty obvious. Germany would be absorbed by the nation-state which had employment for it.

### No room for warriors

**W**HO would give employment to unemployed Germany? The answer again was obvious. By their very structure—not to speak of their incapacity to conceive the problem at all—the Western nations could not employ Germany. An employed Germany, by their ideas, could be employed only as a trade-competitor, who would re-capture the markets from which they were congratulating themselves on having expelled her.

And, of course, even had their ideas been totally different from what they

## ATOM SCIENTIST POINTS

### "The only hopeful path"

**I** BELIEVE, therefore, that since atomic weapons will unavoidably be available in any future war, it is better that this fact should be perfectly clear and visible, and that we ought not to get any false sense of security from a non-co-operation pledge of scientists, which would prove as futile as the Kellogg Pact.

The only hopeful path is to work for the abolition of war, of any kind of war. This problem was urgent before there were atomic bombs, and it will remain urgent if we can abolish them. But they may help us to make people realise its urgency.

The "atomic scientists" in America and Britain have got together to do all they can to press for . . . an international organization to control the use of atomic energy and to prevent its misuse.

—Prof. Rudolf Peierls, C.B.E., F.R.S., in Reynolds News.

He is M.A. (Cantab.), D.Sc. (Manchester) and D.Phil. (Leipzig). Since 1937 Professor of Applied Maths at Birmingham, and worked on the atom-bomb at Los Alamos, USA.

were, and are; if the problem had been faced, and the only practicable solution accepted, which was the formation of a European economic union with Germany as a key-member—there would have been very little employment to offer the most famous section of Germany's technicians: her experts in the art and science of war. A European economic union could have employed them only to make war on Russia: in other words, it would have repeated Hitler's own policy.

European economic union based on (CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

# WHO IS THE ENIGMA?

**I**N my reading and personal contacts during recent months, I have been astonished to find how widespread is the view that Soviet Russia is the outstanding enigma in current world politics. I am astonished because what Russia is doing is in harmony with the Communist philosophy of her founder, Lenin, and also with the Marxian analysis.

I agree there is a sense in which Russia's foreign policy is enigmatic, in the sense, namely, that she is a member of UNO and of all its important committees and offshoots, attends their meetings, participates in their discussions and tries to influence their decisions, and yet does not believe in them, or that they are capable of achieving the purpose for which they were set up. She believes they are a huge bluff, and are being used, as they can only be used, and indeed as the old League of Nations was used, by the Big Powers to strengthen their position and that of the bloc which each is building up consciously or instinctively.

### Crisis of capitalism

Were Soviet Russia to declare her belief (or unbelief) openly, it would split UNO from top to bottom. The perpetuation of UNO is therefore one of the outstanding enigmas of history. But there is nothing enigmatic in Russia's conduct within UNO; only in the pretence which enables her to be a member of it. That is to say, everything which Russia does inside UNO is in accordance with the Marxian analysis and the Lenin thesis of World Revolution. To put it another way, Russia still believes what all British socialists professed to believe not many years ago, namely, that capitalism cannot escape the crisis of ultimate breakdown and collapse, and thus the issue of Communism v. Fascism. Russia believes that American capitalism is riding for a fall which will be catastrophic.

Does British Socialism now deny this probability? Does the Labour Government? Does Ernest Bevin? If so, on what grounds? If anything

## asks WILFRED WELLOCK comparing foreign policies

has happened to justify such a denial, I, for one, am unaware of it.

But Russia would go further, and say that Socialist Britain also will be unable to escape catastrophe. In regard to that, will anyone deny that all the indications denote that Britain will be drawn into the wake of the United States' financial and economic flag-ship? It is very doubtful if Britain's exports target can be reached even during the post-war boom. In that case, what will happen when we pass into the post-war "normality?"

What in fact we are now witnessing on the stage of world affairs, is an economic conflict between Britain and the United States, and a political or ideological conflict between these two Powers and Soviet Russia. In the former conflict the issue is markets, in the latter it is power, strategic advantage. Hence on every question that comes up for settlement by the Big Powers, be it concerned with Italy, Austria, Germany, Persia, Greece, or what, there is conflict, and the core of it is power, in the last analysis military power.

What is the way out? Is there a way out? This question really

means: Is there an alternative to Communism and Fascism under whatever disguises? Is the Third Way British Socialism? I do not think so, for reasons I have frequently stated in these pages. Then what is it?

### Abandon export policy

I believe it lies in the building up of a qualitative as against a quantitative civilization. This involves the abandonment of the policy of a big export trade in manufactured goods. As we now see, the ultimate outcome of that kind of economy is the super state, which assumes continental and, later, hemispherical control. It compels all the states within its orbit to conform to certain political forms and to adapt their economic policies to its own. Even once powerful states like Britain must needs walk humbly and circumspectly when this stage of power politics is reached.

If Britain is to maintain her political and economic independence beyond the next ten years, she has no option but to abandon her present one-sided economy in favour of an economy which will enable her to become master in her own household, and to build up a civilization on the values of the spirit, the spirit of truth, beauty and community.

Why, then, does she not take this course? What has happened to her Socialist Gospel? Can it be that Britain is the enigma in modern world politics?

## THE PEOPLE'S WILL

**T**HE Bikini Film was shown in London last week. "Sane men must go on saying NO to all such experiments based on the assumption that human sense must fail and military precautions must be taken against an inevitable atomic war," wrote the scientific publicist Ritchie Calder. Mr. Attlee, opening the Paris Peace Conference, said that: "Governments should be responsive to the will of the people which no nation, no ruler, can afford to disregard," and Mr. Bevin added that: "ordinary men and women are never responsible for war."

Here is a challenge to ordinary men and women the world over. Is the "force of world opinion that longs for peace and security" which the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary acknowledge making itself felt? One has the impression that people feel powerless and apathetic. They may not share the militaristic nationalism of the American pilot who flew the B29 over Hiroshima, claiming that the first atom-bomb had been "made

and dropped for the people of the USA," but neither do they repudiate the continued experimentation with these new weapons.

The stage is again being set for a new war. BUT THE PEOPLE NEED NOT AGAIN BE PAWNS IN THE GAME. If they say NO, Governments must obey.

The PPU has always said NO to militarism. Help us with a contribution to HQ Fund to say it with humour, as in the new poster displayed at the entrance of Dick Sheppard House, with earnestness; and with convincing power.

MAUD ROWNTREE, CORDER CATCHPOOL, Joint Treasurers.

Contributions to HQ Fund since August 9: £6 12s. 6d. Year's total to date: £247 18s. 8d. Donations to the fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurers at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.



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All letters on other than editorial matters  
should be addressed to the Manager

## The Ghost of Clausewitz

**T**HE pundits and panjandrums of the British army have lately been in conclave; and they have reached agreement (so they say) on the general doctrine of war which is to be inculcated into the army of the future. Apparently the British army has never had such a thing before. But it feels it must move with the times, or with the time before the last. For what the new introduction really amounts to is an imitation of what the Germans did more than a century ago, when Clausewitz's volumes "On War" were made the philosophical text-book of the German army.

We have no idea what the new British doctrine of war may be. It is possible that it is quite revolutionary: possible, but highly improbable. It is much more likely to be based on an examination of the campaigns in the last war, in which the atomic-bomb was not used, than to start from an objective analysis of the situation as it exists to-day: when we know that in any future world-war the atomic-bomb will be the decisive weapon.

The world is moving steadily towards a condition of political tension of which, at any other time, the certain outcome would have been war. The only deterrent is the knowledge that the new powers of destruction are quite incommensurable with any used in the recent defeat of Germany. That was a notable achievement in the annals of destruction. But it was merely a parlour game compared to what will happen when the atom-bombs begin to fly. Nevertheless, the known destructiveness of the atom-bomb seems to make no difference to the struggles of power-politics. The statesmen are behaving as though the atom-bomb did not exist, or they were certain it would not be used.

Since (as Clausewitz said) war is politics, only in a different form, the soldiers are not behaving strangely if they follow the lead of the statesmen and think out their philosophy of war as though the atom-bomb did not exist, or they could be certain it would not be used. True, it seems extraordinary that soldiers should ignore the existence of the atom-bomb. But that is because we think of politics and war as quite distinct activities. And that illusion makes us feel it is more natural that statesmen should ignore the existence of the atom-bomb than that soldiers should.

The soldiers ignore it because it really makes nonsense of their profession, which can now be conducted only if the atom-bomb is kept under lock and key. The politicians ignore it really for the same reason. Even power-politics cannot be conducted on the assumption that the nation which has the atom-bombs is actually going to use them. So the statesmen make the assumption that it will not, rather gingerly perhaps, but still they make it. But the atmosphere of unreality will continue until Russia has a stockpile of atom-bombs of her own.

The only form of control of the atom-bomb that the near future is likely to achieve is that the great powers should be equally possessed of it. Balance of power has not saved humanity in the past. But the new balance of the new power may possibly suffice to secure mankind a truce. It is at least conceivable. What is not conceivable is that, while the power of the atom-bomb is thus precariously balanced, wars should be waged on a sub-atomic plane, so to speak: wars from which atom-bombs are barred. The atom-bomb cannot be kept out if there is world-war.

Therefore, an atomic balance of power may prevent world-war for a time. During that time the ideological and economic deadlock between Russia and the West may be eased. It might help to ease it if the British war-pundits were to begin their thinking all over again—with their eyes on the present and the future instead of the past.

# Patrick Figgis submits three considerations for PEACE in PALESTINE

**I** IMAGINE that in my views about peacemaking I am typical of a fair number of people. Peace must be based upon approximate justice. Without forgiveness peace will not be lasting. Coercion, while sometimes to be employed, is always a second best method to persuasion and example. Only in certain circumstances, even though the intention is to prevent disorder, dare we resort to armed force.

What answer do people who hold such views give now to the question: what policy should the British pursue in Palestine? The relevant historical facts are obtainable—many of them in the report of the recent Anglo-American Committee (HM Stationery Office, 1s. 3d.) and in "A Palestine Munich?" (Crossman and Foot, Gollancz, 6d.) Those who are not afraid to use violence will presumably support the use of armed force in the interests of whatever settlement they think most just. Those who believe that violence should never be used will presumably urge the immediate withdrawal of British troops, leaving the Arabs and Jews to settle their differences. What answer does a person of my persuasion give?

### Over-simplification

The situation certainly is complicated. We have made incompatible promises to both sides. We have also accepted the position of Mandatory Power which carried with it certain responsibilities. If a false move is made now there is no knowing where the resultant conflict will end. A usually well-informed friend assures me that it is plain that we never had any right to promise the Jews a home in a country that belongs to the Arabs; therefore in the interests of justice we must keep the Jews out. All such talk over-simplifies a highly complicated issue.

Which raises the question whether there is any near-pacifist (if I may so describe my position) immediate policy to be pursued. I am conscious, particularly as someone who talks about international affairs to the same audience each week, that some of we pacifists may tend to search for an original and creative solution to every problem, whereas an immediate

1. Great Britain should receive more Jews;
2. Withdraw armed forces in the Middle East; and
3. Resort to armed force ONLY with support of both parties.

distinctively pacifist solution may not always exist. The Government may sometimes already be doing the right thing! Is it so in this case?

That the Government cares as much as most of us about Peace in Palestine I do not question. That we ordinary people do not know a sufficient number of the relevant facts to give detailed advice, I readily admit. But there are three things that I consider we are entitled to say, that indeed we should say because of their importance for Peace and because generally they are not being said.

Firstly, Great Britain, as well as USA and the Dominions, should be willing to receive more Jews. In 1939 the Jewish population of the United Kingdom totalled 340,000. To-day it is 350,000. In view of Jewish sufferings we should be willing to take more. Additional workers in Britain should be an asset, not a liability. Such willingness might persuade other countries to accept more Jews. Certainly the Anglo-American report suggests that the Arabs would probably be more willing to allow an additional number of Jews into Palestine if other countries would play their part.

But anti-Semitism appears to be on the increase in this country as well as on the Continent. Therefore it is up to us to learn and to help others to understand the causes of anti-Semitism and to counter them, so that our own government may be encouraged to receive more Jews. If

*Edgar McCoy's second article in the series dealing with the many aspects of social service will be published next week. It will be entitled: "The Significance of Pacifist Service."*

we do this we shall be in a better position to speak to both Arab and Jew about Palestine.

Secondly, Great Britain should no longer retain large armed forces in the Middle East. Presumably our forces are there not only to try to keep order in Palestine but also to guard the Suez Canal and our oil.

To withdraw the bulk of our Middle East Force would have consequences that we should not like. But it seems to me to be wrong that we should continue to try to safeguard our interests anywhere in the world by a means that is really preparation, though in the last resort, for war. While we attempt to do so it must be almost impossible for our statesmen to consider impartially the rights and wrongs of the Palestine question.

### Support of the majority

Thirdly, we should only use armed force to suppress either Jews or Arabs if we have the support of the leaders on both sides. If a genuine international police force were to deal with the situation it might be different.

In the Observer recently a Middle East correspondent wrote: "There is a growing conviction that there never will be co-operation or agreement between Arabs and Jews so long as either party can appeal to British force and all responsibility is vested in an alien Power. Every Palestinian, Arab or Jew, is drawn to communal extremism because there is nothing to stop him; because he is not up against it in an administrative sense; because the alternative to compromise is not disaster but intervention by the mandatory, so that it does not pay to compromise. What the Palestinian requires is self-government. For him . . . the sooner the British police and most of the British officials are withdrawn the better."

Whether this argument is sound or not I cannot be sure. But I do believe that violence, used by the British alone, will do more harm than good unless we have the support of the majority of the inhabitants of the country and of their leaders. Otherwise, while adopting every means of reconciliation, we should not use violence.

## Letters to the Editor

### Juggling with economics

**T**HE letter of Mr. Julian Bartlett in your issue of July 19 in favour of Communism is naive indeed. He forgets that precisely the same argument can be used on behalf of national socialism and Fascism, which is only Communism carried out more efficiently in a more technically advanced State.

What evidence is there that Communism is more peaceably inclined than Nazism or Fascism? Have Communists eschewed mass murder and violence? Of course they have not. Their whole creed is based on it, and they seek to obtain their aims by it in every country. Could Peace News exist for one moment in Soviet Russia—or the PPU either?

What an absurd superstition it is to believe that juggling with economics will produce a paradise on earth without a complete regeneration of the human heart. To imagine that the Soviet Dictators regard their people as anything other than cattle to be exploited ruthlessly for power politics is to show oneself as naive as the Communist who declared that Stalin was Jesus Christ come again!

It is fortunate that world-events are moving so rapidly that the cult and idolatry of Soviet-worship, so assiduously cultivated in this and other countries during the last 20 years or more is likely to be smashed to smithereens on the hard rocks of factual reality.

ION D. AULAY.

London, W.1.

### Diet and punishment

**I** WAS interested in the news item under the above heading in your issue of July 26. It is not quite clear to me whether the ordinary consumer's diet of 1,050 calories, in the British Zone, refers to rationed foods only, or whether it includes a pro-

portion of whatever unrationed foods such as vegetables and fruit may be available in season.

The point is important for two reasons: Firstly, the addition of the latter class of food (obviously more available in rural areas) may appreciably increase the caloric value of the diet. Secondly, malnutrition of the worst type occurs when a diet which may be adequate in caloric content is lacking in the vital mineral salts and other essential ingredients, provided by the fresh foodstuffs—fruit, salads and vegetables.

I would suggest that a control is necessary within the stricken areas to ensure equitable distribution of such foodstuffs, and I would plead that famine relief be directed to the introduction into Germany and other affected areas, not only the 'heating' foods, measured by their 'caloric' value, but also the 'cleansing' vital foods—both classes being so essential to the rebuilding of the physical health of the people. Only in the wake of such renewed physical health can mental and moral health follow.

DOUGLAS COTTRILL.

8 Hayfield Road,  
Moseley, Birmingham 13.

### Back to the land

**W**HAT muddled ideas are contained in Peace News dated August 9.

Firstly, the thank-offering by one of your friends for his release from the land; secondly the publicity given to the fact that PoWs are still over here working on the land; and thirdly the worthy suggestion of Stanley Seamark that twelve pacifists should sing hymns in a PoW camp.

I quite agree that the PoWs should be sent to their homes and families as soon as possible, but I would suggest that this could be greatly helped by pacifists remaining in, or volunteering for agricultural work, so that

the "slave labour" could be eliminated. The twelve volunteers, if forthcoming, could help in this practical way by offering to take the places of twelve prisoners.

Surely it is a paradox that COs should be willing to eat food produced by "slave labour" without doing anything more practical to help.

LESLIE E. RICHARDS.

Wroxeter Farm,  
Osmeasley, New Milton,  
Hants.

### A challenge

**I** AM delighted to see that PN is now fully alive to the terrific human problem of the German PoWs here in Britain. I have been working with 25 of these men for eight months now, trying to encourage them with tidbits from PN. One of them said: "What good can your little society and paper do?"

This, I thought, depends upon each member and reader and is a great challenge to all. I could not give him a complete answer. Will you all help me to do so? We must show them what we can do for them and for world peace. Here is a cheque to help towards this specific purpose. Perhaps others can do likewise?

CECIL J. PANTHER.

Top Lodge Cottages,  
Fineshade, Nr. Kettering,  
Northants.

## HOUSMAN'S

We have obtained from India a limited number of the following works of

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## THANKS! TO SWEDEN

"I am grateful to Sweden for many things. I am grateful to her because, when I went up to Stockholm in the dark days of the war, I found light and confidence and faith. I am grateful to her for what she did for our prisoners and for the starving millions of Greece. But, above all, I am grateful to her because she shows us the middle way. For in that wise and lovely land they have discovered the true secret of social democracy; they can teach us how to combine ancient traditions with a new social and economic order; how to achieve public elegance without disparity in private fortunes; how to establish the most detailed social services without crushing personal initiative or individual self-reliance; and how to achieve a common standard of living."—Harold Nicholson writing in the Spectator.

### Words of Peace No. 184

## ALL OUR OWN

In every government, though terrors reign,  
Though tyrant kings or tyrant laws restrain,  
How small, of all that human hearts endure,  
That part which laws or kings can cause or cure!  
Still to ourselves in every place consigned,  
Our own felicity we make or find;  
With secret course, which no loud storms annoy,  
Glides the smooth current of domestic joy.  
The lifted axe, the agonizing wheel,  
Luke's iron crown, and Damien's bed of steel,  
To men remote from power but rarely known,  
Leave reason, faith and conscience all our own.  
—Oliver Goldsmith: The Traveller.

### ADVISORY BUREAUX CHANGES

**COLCHESTER**—Individual Adviser: F. C. Barrett, 8 Richardson Walk, Sexden, Colchester.  
**BIRMINGHAM**—Sidney White, now at: 6 Caroline Road, Moseley, Birmingham, 13.  
**STAMFORD**—Individual Adviser: L. W. Dartnell, 32 Queen's Walk, Stamford, Lines.  
**NORTHUMBERLAND & DURHAM REGIONAL BOARD**—Regional Secretary now: Raymond O. Wyld, 4 South View, West Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 5.  
**NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE**—Individual Adviser now: Raymond O. Wyld, as above.  
**LONDON & S.E. REGIONAL BOARD**—Secretary now: E. A. Whittaker, 76 Mount Nod Road, Streatham, S.W.16. (STR. 0083).  
**BARNET**—Mrs. Irene Chester, 30 Belmont Avenue, Cockfosters.  
**SOUTH LAMBETH & STOCKWELL**—Delete, now covered by Streatham.  
**ST. ALBANS**—Sydney (not Stanley) R. Perkins.  
**HIGH WYCOMBE**—Delete.  
**LYMINGTON & DISTRICT**—H. Jupp, Dock House, Beaulieu, Hants.

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When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date. We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

### MEETINGS, &c.

**BOURNEMOUTH**, Emscot, High Howe Lane, Sept. 21, Garden Party and Regional AGM.  
**CONWAY HALL**, Tues., Sept. 24, London Area Get-Together. Book the date—or you'll be sorry. Watch PN for details.  
**SEELY OAK F.M.H.**, Sun., Sept. 1, 3 p.m., "Juvenile Delinquency," Charles Garland, Midland Pacific Fellowship.  
**STREATHAM COMMON**, Sun., Aug. 25, 7 p.m., Sybil Morrison and others.  
**TAUNTON**, Mary St. Schoolroom, top of High St., nr. Vivary Park, Sat., Sept. 7, 3 p.m., "The Western Area Rally is discussing 'That Present Pacifist Methods of Propaganda are Outmoded.'" Chairman: Rev. John Lee. Bring eats, tea provided.

### ACCOMMODATION

**YOUNG WOMAN** shortly joining Peace News staff, requires digs., partial board, convenient to Pinebury Park. Box 508.

# In Praise of German Prisoners

HERE is a significant account of life in a German prisoner of war camp, providing welcome relief to the many stories which have been published recently.

After a visit to the Barton Field Camp on the Cambridge Road, Ely (known officially as No. 26 German Prisoners of War Working Camp), a reporter on the Newmarket Weekly News was so impressed by the efforts of the men that he felt nothing but admiration for the way in which the Germans have set about the task of re-educating themselves. He declares: "They don't live in the lap of luxury—contrary to some opinions—and what comfort and attractiveness their camp does possess, is entirely the result of their own efforts."

The camp, composed for the most part of Nissen huts, was formerly occupied by Italian prisoners of war. Barbed wire, rusty and piled high, has been replaced by low token fences. Attractively-kept flower beds and lengthy patches of healthy-looking vegetables give the whole place a pleasing atmosphere. The prisoners live simply in scrupulously clean surroundings and have a genius for improvising their own entertainment and recreation.

"Almost everything they do," says the writer, "they do well. Those that work on the land have gained a high reputation among neighbouring farmers."

### British Empire Exhibition

But the chief reason for the reporter's visit was to view an exhibition, conceived by the prisoners themselves, without hint or pressure from outside authorities, on the British Empire! It was a really magnificent job. Prime mover of the exhibition is a young German soldier, who had previously studied at the Heidelberg University, and was taken prisoner in Libya at the beginning of the war. While interned in Canada he took two University courses there.

The reporter states that some indication of the complete freedom of expression permitted in the camp is given in the following paragraph, of which this same ex-student of Heidelberg is the author:

"The British Empire is far from being ideal. It has come into being through historical events not all of which are creditable in the moral mirror of international thinking today. The policies of its members in economic, political, racial and colonial affairs are doubtlessly often open to criticism, criticism which they are constantly undergoing from its own citizens as well as from foreign countries. Through all its affairs blows the keen and cleansing wind of democracy, based on freedom of speech, of the press, of religion, and of association.

These are the fundamentals of its way of life. If they were to go, it would have abandoned its message and lost its value for the world."

A large number of prisoners can read English quite easily, and many have gained distinction as interpreters. The fact that the camp takes ten different daily newspapers gives some idea of the popular demand

to learn of the different shades of British politics.

And as any human reporter would conclude: "But, quite naturally, they still look forward to returning home—for the most part re-educated men determined to build a new Germany."

Is this yet another cell of experiment in community, which is making its contribution to a peaceful world?

### Book Review

## "I WANT MORE THAN TRUTH!"

"Journey to Understanding," by Percy Redfern  
(Allen & Unwin, 10s. 6d.)

PERCY REDFERN'S name is fortunately familiar to our readers. To him they owe some of the most thoughtful and humane writing which has appeared in these pages. "Journey to Understanding" is a transparently sincere account of his spiritual pilgrimage. Launched into the world as a draper's apprentice—in the environment that H. G. Wells has immortalized—he managed to break loose and enter the service of the Co-operative Movement in its publications department.

Outwardly uneventful, his life has been full of inward adventure, and given a firm pattern by a determined search for a faith whereby he could live. From a combination of rationalism and ethical socialism he moved by slow stages, largely under the influence of Tolstoy, to a full and imaginative Christianity. The record of his testing of the dogmas of science and socialism by his own life-experience will certainly be of interest, and should be of positive help to some of those many pacifists who, however uneasily, are inclined to compromise with totalitarianism provided it bears a socialist label.

One part of the book is deeply moving. It is the story of the young man's rediscovery of his mother, from whom he had been separated as a baby. Her upbringing was Nonconformist and Puritan and from her religion she had derived the strength to resign her child, for his own sake. When they met again, he argued with her against what he thought her narrow Christianity.

"The cruel assurance of his words! Not to love Christ, the real superman, whose divinity she felt in her heart! Not to believe Christ's own words, when during thirty years divinely, as a God, he had saved her from weakness and despair."

"But she could not speak her thoughts. She could only exclaim: 'Truth! . . . I want more than truth!'"

"They were alone together in the house, where she knelt broken and in tears."

"Then she lifted her head. 'I know men,' she said, 'and Christ is more than a man.'"

In the context those last are overwhelming words.

The apology for Christianity which follows this is very fine indeed: and, I think, the main jewel of a book which is uncommonly rich in searching thought. "Journey to Understanding" is a book which comes out of the heart of the pacifist movement. It should be read by everyone who desires to understand, or to deepen, his own faith.

—J.M.M.

### TEN YEARS AGO

Peace News, August 22, 1936.

If it is possible to condemn slavery as unchristian and yet acknowledge that millions of good men have, in the past, accepted it without question, may not the time have now come for Christians to renounce war as completely as slavery, while still recognizing the high courage and self-sacrifice that have been the glory of the soldier's calling?—From Fourteen Points of a Pacifist Priest, by C. Paul Gliddon.

News has now been received that the newly-opened senior department of the Society of Friends' school at Chungking, West China, has been granted registration by the Chinese Government and exemption from military training.

International Peace Campaign . . . one of the most remarkable, and one of the most widely representative gatherings—Germany and Italy alone will be conspicuous by their absence—will assemble at Brussels on September 3. Egypt, the USSR, and even Japan will also be represented . . . M. Pierre Cot, the French Air Minister, Mme. Blum (as treasurer), and Senor de Madariaga (Spanish Ambassador in Paris) have been specially active.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

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# No Independence for Germany

## 'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

the defeat of Hitlerism was, by necessity, a peaceful union. It was up to it, and the German people, to put the German warrior-caste in its place. That is to say, European economic union required in Germany a major revolution into democracy and a minor one towards a fuller socialism; and in the other countries, simultaneously, a major revolution into socialism.

### Situations vacant

**B**UT the USSR can employ Germany *holus bolus*: warrior caste and all. Its ideology being based on the ultimate inevitability of war between Communism and Capitalism, it has situations vacant for all the technicians of the German war-machine, as well as all the technicians of German industry. The warriors have only to make the not very great change from conquering the world for National Socialism, to conquering it for National Communism. (And it is perhaps worth remembering that the great Clausewitz himself, together with many other Prussian officers, entered the Russian service in the war of 1812).

A far less revolutionary readjustment of the dominant German mentality is required for absorption into the Soviet system than would have been required for entrance into a European federation. And the employment offered by the former is employment in a going and successful concern, with all the familiar amenities and no democratic nonsense; whereas the employment offered by the latter is like that of a company which has not got even to the stage of issuing a prospectus, and will probably never come into existence at all.

That is why the West is steadily losing the struggle for Germany. It has nothing to offer—except the theoretical negation of Communism. But Communism offers Germany partnership—junior partnership it may be, and after a grim apprenticeship. The West offers nothing at all

—except a grudging charity, to a Germany permanently on the dole.

### Partition—or war?

**N**O doubt, this is a massive simplification of an issue far too vast for complete comprehension. But I know what were the consequences of the fearful domestic unemployment of Germany in 1931—Hitler and his bid for "a new order" in Europe. I have only my intelligence and my imagination to tell me what will be the consequences of having made all Germany unemployed. European history has passed into a new dimension, with the deliberate disintegration of the greatest nation-state of Europe. There never will, and never can, be an independent German state again.

There are, theoretically, three choices. First, Germany as a whole might enter a European federation and economic union. This does not exist, and is not likely to in the near and crucial future. Second, Germany, as a whole, may go Communist and enter the Soviet system. On neither of these choices can Germany be an independent state. Of the two the second is, by far, the more probable. The third choice is that Germany will be permanently partitioned. In the new phase of history in which we are, there should be nothing particularly shocking in this idea. The nationalism that it shocks is an anachronism, though it rages furiously and partition has the advantage that it will not precipitate war, as the second probably will. But what does partition mean?

### The irrelevance of Paris

**U**NLESS the Western nations utterly change their ideas, and receive Western Germany as an equal partner, partition cannot last. A separate Western Germany, as for example the French would like to shape it, is merely a convenient half-way stage towards the subsequent triumph of Communism in Germany. As far as one can see, the French are bent upon pulling the remains of Europe down on their heads, and ours. Unless French policy changes totally, the partition of Germany cannot be a practicable measure at all.

Plain commonsense might be made palatable to the French if the necessary economic incorporation of Western Germany with Western Europe were presented to France primarily as the incorporation of Western Germany with France—on condition that France simultaneously incorporated herself with Britain. Without such incorporation of Western Germany into a mutually incorporated Western States of Europe, the partition of Germany simply reverts to the condition aforesaid: that of a convenient half-way stage to the incorporation of all Germany in the Soviet system.

That is why the Peace Conference will not touch the German problem. If it does the Conference will fly into pieces. What the pieces are has already been made evident in Paris. They are kept precariously together by the fact that the German problem is tabu—almost, in the literal sense of the word, unmentionable.

### Strait-piece

**R**USSIA is making a fresh try-out of her strength over the Dardanelles. Theoretically, there is nothing unreasonable in her demands: practically, it involves the absorption of Turkey into the Soviet system.

If Turkey is prepared to fight, Russia will probably moderate her demands: for a Russo-Turkish war would end by blowing the world sky-high. And, anyhow, Russia can afford to wait.

### THE "UNDERGROUND" C.O.

"You see by the time I found out I was a conscientious objector it was too late to do anything about it. Besides, I'm not a conscientious objector exactly. I wanted to do something in the war, but not carry on with that [bombing of people.] I started off all wrong."

Writing in the News Chronicle last week George Edinger quotes this statement by a deserter from the R.A.F., whom he interviewed. The same man is now on the run and living "underground" without ration card, and with 13,000 other deserters, "constitute a serious social problem" as that newspaper puts it.

## Christians, Awake!

**A** TRULY appalling account of conditions in the French zone of occupied Germany comes from a Lutheran pastor, a British subject of German descent, who is wanting to take up parochial work in Germany. He was allowed to cross the border from Switzerland for a brief visit and at the customs the first German he talked to warned him about living in "this witches' kitchen."

A young architect whom he met later prophesied:

"We are ready to bear our lot, to expiate... but if this devilish injustice goes on, you will find murder recklessly creeping everywhere. Much blood will flow. They will even go over to the Russians if with their help they can pay back and stab their oppressors. We shall have civil war, chaos. Therefore, think twice before you come into our hell."

When the same man called upon the local pastor he was passionately entreated to keep out of "this starving and awful country." Becoming more patient after many talks that day the local pastor said:

"My only hope—what I am working for—is that we can talk with Christians of other nations, or of the nation concerned, empty our hearts and discuss our miseries. I believe they do not know what is going on here, and I am sure they would realize what is at stake and warn their people to stop the excesses before it is too late. The time is very short; I feel the storm coming. We Christians must come together, and quickly. We cannot talk to anybody outside. They must come, visit us, touring from place to place with their ear upon the ground, not merely flying to the high quarters. There is yet time: there was such a good start made among my people. Please do whatever you can!"

### CHILDREN'S FUND AS "MONUMENT" TO UNRRA

**A** NEW humanitarian organization was launched at Geneva on Aug. 16 by the decision of the UNRRA Council to create an international children's fund, which will provide, after the end of UNRRA, certain types of food and equipment for the children of countries which were the victims of aggression.

"There can be no better monument to UNRRA," declared Dr. L. Rajchmann (Poland), who moved this resolution. It was seconded by Mr. Philip Noel-Baker (Britain). Such assets as are available after the completion of UNRRA work will be used for this fund, according to a Reuter report.

### CHURCHES' COMMISSION WILL INCLUDE "EX-ENEMIES"

The World Council of Churches, which set up a Commission of International Affairs last week, has invited Mr. Kenneth Grubb to direct the work of this commission. Mr. Grubb was formerly Controller of Overseas Publicity at the Ministry of Information.

It is hoped to have German and Japanese representatives on the Commission.

### "NOT CRIMINALS"

**A**LMOST a year after V-J Day, 2,100 conscientious objectors remain in American prisons. Not only the signatories of a recent letter published in the New York Times (July 14)—including Dorothy Canfield Fisher, novelist, and former American Legion figure Cyrus Leroy Baldrige—but many others feel concern about this state of affairs.

It is perhaps not widely known that of these 2,100, three-fourths are Jehovah's Witnesses, and the rest include religious and political objectors of various kinds.

The letter to the New York Times . . . says:

"Obviously, the conscientious objectors are not criminals and do not belong in prison. However we may regard their ideals, they acted from the highest motives, and their continued punishment violates our precious heritage of freedom and conscience and religion, and speaks ill for the state of civil liberties after a war fought in the name of the Four Freedoms." From Human Events, July 24, 1946.

## IRISH WRITERS URGE AMNESTY IN U.S.

**PAUL VINCENT CARROLL**, Sean O'Faolain, well-known playwright and novelist are among nine leading Irish writers and artists who have called upon President Truman to grant amnesty to America's imprisoned COs. A similar letter was previously sent to the President by top British writers including G.B.S., Koestler and Bertrand Russell.

Other signatories include Teresa Deevy, Ria Mooney, T. C. Murray, Seumas O'Sullivan and Jack B. Yeats. Carroll, Murray and Deevy are all dramatists of the Abbey Theatre, and Yeats, a leading painter, is the brother of W. B. Yeats. O'Sullivan is editor of Dublin Magazine and an outstanding poet.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt has added her support in answer to a letter from one of the seven CPS hunger strikers who are now conducting an amnesty letter-writing campaign.

The New York State Liberal Party has telegraphed the President and Attorney General Clark urging an amnesty for the 6,000 CO's sentenced to prison since 1940.

### CANADIAN C.O. GOES HOME

**EX-CORPORAL R. G. BROOKS** of the Canadian Army is to be repatriated to Canada within the next few weeks, the Central Board for COs learns. He had been tried by Field General Court Martial of the Canadian Army Overseas on July 8 and found not guilty of desertion but guilty of absence without leave. Sentence of eight months detention and reduction to the ranks was later promulgated.

### DIE-HARDS IN YEOVIL

The Yeovil R.D.C. gave further consideration on July 19 to a proposal to reinstate in the Council's employ, Frank Hallett, a rating and valuation assistant, dismissed because of his conscientious objection to war. Mr. E. J. Bird said that the Council were perfectly free to take whatever attitude they wished and contended that the CO deserted his country in time of need.

Despite strong advocacy by the Rev. Douglas Ballard on the other side, the motion for reinstatement was defeated by 23 votes to 10. Frank Hallett, however, now has a post with another local authority that has not exhibited the intolerance of Yeovil.

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